

The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

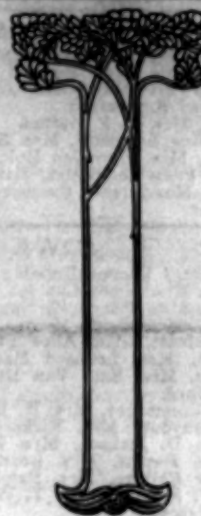
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THE RAID UPON THE PRESIDENT
GIVING FIRST AID TO FEMINISM
WOMAN'S DUTY TO PREPAREDNESS
PATRIOTISM IN HOME AND SCHOOL
REPRESENTATIVE REASONS
—JEANNETTE L. GILDER—CORR M. DOW
A WOMAN VOTER'S VIEWS
WOMAN'S PLACE IN WAR
HER SUPREME SPHERE
THE VOTIAC
LETTERS FROM SUFFRAGE STATES
A REPUDIATION OF POPULAR
GOVERNMENT

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"THE RAID UPON THE PRESIDENT"

ALTHOUGH President Wilson has told at least ten delegations of suffragists within two years that he is opposed to having woman suffrage forced on the States through a Federal Amendment, he was annoyed again upon the occasion of his recent visit to New York.

The suffragists, about two hundred in number, persisted in their attempts to see the President in spite of several notes from him that his time was occupied for the day, and he was forced to meet them in a brief interview and again state his well-known position.

The statement most frequently used by the suffragists was: "We believe and insist upon the necessity for an amendment to the Federal Constitution."

The President was permitted to retire "without much heckling," as reported in the *New York Times*. "There was little applause while the President was speaking," "there was a deal of discontent shown before he consented to the interview," "the suffragists were holding a modified indignation meeting, with the openly expressed intention of camping on Mr. Wilson's doorstep," were the terms used by other reporters in describing the affair. Commenting editorially on the incident, the *New York Times*, in its issue of January 28th, says:

"When the President came to New York his plans for the time he had to spare here were all complete. They did not include a hearing for a company of women determined to force from him another expression of his views regarding Federal interference with a matter that rests entirely with the States. He had two important addresses to deliver, and he had to prepare them. He certainly needed what rest he could get during the day. Yet 200 delegates from the Women's Congressional Union, with whom he had made no appointment, to whom he had distinctly refused to speak, assembled in his hotel early in the morning and pestered him and his secretary with notes until

he felt compelled to see them and say once more that he is unalterably opposed to an amendment to the Federal Constitution granting the franchise to women.

It was a proceeding extremely discreditable to every woman concerned in it. The cause of woman suffrage can scarcely be helped by such behavior. We cannot imagine any deputation of men in like circumstances persisting in an effort to harass the Chief Magistrate of the nation, for to harass him was the only object of these unruly women, since his view on the matter of Federal interference with the right to vote had already been clearly stated. If President Wilson still believes, after this extremely unpleasant experience, that women are qualified to act as electors, his approval of woman suffrage on principle must have very strong foundations. These women, or those among them who were most conspicuous in the raid upon the President, are of high social standing and supposedly representative of the intellectual side of the suffrage movement. But Mr. "Curly" Cassidy of Far Rockaway, stealing a Republican mass meeting and converting it into one for the approval of Cassidy politics, could not create a public spectacle more disgusting to sober-minded citizens."

Among the women who took part in this "public spectacle disgusting to sober-minded citizens" were the following:

Mrs. E. Tiffany Dyer, Mrs. Amos Pinchot, Mrs. Charles Beard, Mrs. Henry Bruere, Mrs. Robert Adamson, Mrs. J. J. Mason, Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, Mrs. Joseph H. Hunt, Mrs. Thomas L. Chadbourne, Jr., Mrs. E. Livingston Hunt, Mrs. John Rogers, Mrs. Louis Delafield, Mrs. Harry Crafts and Miss Doris Stevens.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont was ill and could not be present, but she was consulted frequently by telephone while the notes to the President were being prepared.

GIVING FIRST AID TO FEMINISM

WHEN the leaders of suffrage associations lend their names and influence towards the promotion of feminism and the circulation of questionable literature, it is obvious that giving them political power would further these things, even though we might be able to keep them from getting everything they desire.

There is a certain revolutionary magazine—which we do not care to name and give the free advertising that it seeks by a violent sensationalism—which is edited, co-operatively, by a group of leading suffragists and radical socialists. This magazine was originated by Max Eastman, a socialist feminist, who also organized the Men's League for Woman Suffrage. The first issue of this magazine was so violent that even the *New York Journal* (which is hardly to be ranked as a conservative organ) condemned it for its radicalism. Among its special activities have been pleas for convicted I. W. W. rioters, the publication of extreme socialism and feminism and cartoons and poems that were blasphemous.

Some verses published in this magazine refer, under the title of "God's Blunder," to "a dump marked church and a hole called home."

In the January issue there is a so-called ballad on the birth of Christ so offensive that extracts from it are unprintable in any respectable publication. Several suffragists have expressed the

opinion that this ballad was not extreme. One is thus quoted in the *New York Tribune*, a pro-suffrage newspaper: "That ballad was delightful," said Miss Carpenter. "It refers to Christ in a human way."

The National American Woman Suffrage Association, in a standing advertisement in this magazine for over a year, headed its list of "What to Read on Woman Suffrage" with pamphlets by Max Eastman ridiculing "the home and mother sentiment."

Now that the magazine is about to become bankrupt the suffragists have hastened to its financial rescue. The *New York Tribune*, in a recent issue, says: "Max Eastman is to be relieved of the burden of giving financial support to the ———, a radical magazine of which he is editor. The suffragists have come to the rescue. Gratitude for the enthusiastic suffrage number has caused several women to direct their efforts to raise a \$2,500 fund."

In the February issue of the magazine we find the following signed advertisement:

"To the Women Readers of the ———:

"Will you give five dollars or more * * * to the ———? We ask you to give this as a woman, in appreciation of the eager, intelligent support this magazine has always given to the cause of the modern woman. In cartoons, in verse, in editorial, in story,

(Continued on page 12)

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Vol. VIII

February, 1916

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

SUFFRAGE AND SINCERITY

WE wonder how many of our readers realize that the WOMAN'S PROTEST is just about six months ahead of the weekly suffrage journal in presenting the current arguments on this subject?

The official suffrage journal, issued weekly, has spent the last three months in bitterness and sorrow over the late campaign, and is reprinting, seriatim, in its current numbers, answers to anti-suffrage arguments that appeared in the WOMAN'S PROTEST in June and July of last year.

Why spend three months trying to answer an anti-suffrage booklet issued half a year ago? Why ransack the files of old suffrage charges and make them ridiculous by reproduction many months after they were proved to be fakes?

It grieves the suffrage journal sorely in January that "The Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Liquor League" did not file any account of its expenses with the State. The suffrage paper knows that this league was a fake, gotten up by one man, and consisting of one man, who forged the letterheads of a liquor association in an attempt to discredit the anti-suffragists. It was a crude political trick, which was exposed at the time, in public statements issued by the real liquor dealers. A full account of this fake association and its exposure will be found in the WOMAN'S PROTEST for October, 1915.

At that time it was not charged that the suffragists had actually organized this fake league with the sole purpose of trying to discredit the anti-suffragists, but what are we to think now that the official suffrage journal is trying to pretend that there was such a league, and deliberately suppressing the fact that it was proved a fake months ago?

If the suffrage paper was sincere, it would have the officers of this alleged liquor league indicted under the corrupt practices act, if it had engaged in any political activity in Massachusetts without filing an expense account.

How can suffragists expect to elevate politics unless they emulate, at least, the methods of fair-minded men towards their political opponents?

THE MENACE

EXTREME feminism is not believed in by all suffragists. It is only tacitly indorsed and tolerated. Probably comparatively few of the women who have thoughtlessly contributed their time and money to the suffrage campaign have ever thoroughly understood feminism or what it means. This is true of the rank and file, the innocent and credulous, who believe in or vote for woman suffrage under the impression that it would benefit conditions. The leaders of the suffrage movement, however, thoroughly understand what feminism desires and is trying to achieve, and it is significant that among the most radical feminists we find leading suffragists lending their names, in the company of leading socialists, in pleading for revolutionary doctrines that shock the average decent man or woman.

It is immaterial how many suffragists of the rank and file believe in extreme feminism, so long as leaders among them are elected who are doing their utmost to bring it about. The feminists are the only suffragists who have an actual platform of principles which they seek to apply to American life through the instrumentality of women's votes. These principles include the publication of literature of such a character that no respectable newspaper will consent to advertise it; the teaching of race suicide to young girls and the circulation of books on the subject which have no justification for their existence.

Unfortunately some of the things the feminists print, which could be reproduced to prove these charges to the satisfaction of any candid mind, are unfit to publish, even to condemn, in the WOMAN'S PROTEST.

That newspapers refuse to advertise books that the feminists delight to circulate should be sufficient indication to the person of average intelligence that there are vital reasons why such books should not be circulated. And that a suffrage association can be persuaded to circulate such books is sufficient evidence that the feminists are able to use such an association in this manner, just as they hope to use women's votes to bring about the principles they advocate.

Even with women voting feminists could not force their principles upon the people of the United States in a short time. But it is extremely dangerous to give political power to any group of persons advocating such doctrines, especially when they are able to beguile great numbers of others into giving them silent sympathy or active aid. This is a sufficiently acute problem under male suffrage. There are too many radical men trying to use politics and the vote to bring about laws that would revolutionize society and our present form of government. With the women radicals enfranchised the problem is tremendously increased, because of the greater indifference among normal women to exercise the franchise when they have it. The radical women are not only more eager to use politics to further their ends, but they are more free as a rule to do so than the average wife and mother. This is due to the radical woman's general disposition to avoid the natural handicaps of her sex and to become "as free as a man." It would be futile and foolish to draft the wives and mothers of the country into politics against their wills merely to offset the radical women, when the interests of the whole sex can best be served by keeping it out of politics, and thus leave the normal women to their own womanly duties and limit the radical women to such efforts against their sex as they can exercise by means of feminist publications and questionable literature.

SOUTH CAROLINA SAFE

BY a vote of 61 to 51, the Lower House of the South Carolina General Assembly, on January 21st, defeated a resolution calling for the submission of a woman suffrage constitutional amendment at the next general election.

South Carolina is one of the States where the enfranchisement of women would create a greater social problem than those of the Reconstruction Period.

A RESOLUTION

Passed by the Board of Directors of the National Association, January 27, 1916.

BE it Resolved, That adequate measures for National Defense should receive the support of every loyal American.

That women everywhere should strive to further the cause of preparedness by the study of the sources and conservation of the food supply, by thrift and economy in household management and by training in the care for the physical well-being of our people in times of peace as well as of national disaster.

That this Association appeals to the mothers of the country to teach their children reverence for authority, obedience to law and willingness to sacrifice selfish interests for the country's good.

WOMAN'S DUTY TO PREPAREDNESS

By MRS. LINDON BATES

An Address to the National Security League

FROM the beginning of time among every people woman has stood as the supreme symbol of what, being dependent, must be protected and, being mother of the race, must be conserved.

In man's upward struggle he has fought one intermittent, never-ending fight. His life has been forever in pawn to what he held more sacred than life. War, in its elemental strife, arouses the lowest forces of the human animal, but it releases too his highest expression of surrender and of sacrifice. Self-preservation is the primal, intense instinct at the core of every heart, yet man defies each form of agony with simple readiness in defense of what lies deeper than self-preservation. What is it, whom is it in whose defense he thus lays down his life? It is woman—woman and her children—the home. The temple of his gods and the hearthstone of his family—these are the last words of sacredness to every man, and both in his soul are one. What the hearthstone is to the individual the country is to the collective unit, for the country is the collective home, the collective refuge. Its emblem is the flag, since the flag is the very warp and woof of protection. The flag and the woman are inseparable. When man will not or cannot defend the flag the collective home is lost. We have it in half Europe, this spectacle of nations whose sons were unequal to their own defense. The fate of the women of Poland, Serbia and Armenia point a story whose lesson we well may heed.

With all that is involved for women in war, with all the forfeit man must pay for her safety, what is her duty in home guardianship and home protection? In her place of privilege, what are her responsibilities and how is she meeting them? The first duty is to help by every power within her to ward off war and its atrocities. Peace, security, international harmony and good will—these are conditions so invaluable that they must be built next upon such inviolability of national honor and such guarantees of good faith as can enable them to endure. Women are the high priestesses of peace, and the danger is lest they sacrifice to it what is higher than peace—righteousness. There are worse things than war, and woman must not warp standards, make man a coward to duty or, worse, betray him in principles and ideals vastly more precious than his life.

If woman is to be safe at any time and every ultimate cost she must be worth what she costs. No woman who brings up her son on the policy that she did not raise her boy to be a soldier has a right to the defense of another woman's son.

Considering only the duties of earnest women, where do their responsibilities lie? The very first lives sacrificed in war are the lives of the best, the finest, the most efficient. The young, the brave, the unselfish, the flower of each country are the first fruits

of sacrifice. The measure is set there to all women in balancing values and meeting responsibilities, of returning to mankind what mankind's finest pays to her. Is not this a lining up which well may make even the most earnest women ponder? With humanity's best at stake in possible war, how large a chance is woman warranted in asking for defenselessness? Is it not primary justice that while peace problems and international movements are making trial of their hope the country shall not meanwhile be left imperiled? Shall we on blind faith and trust hazard what we are impotent to restore and gamble the safety of all that man has wrought? How to-day, with the spectacle of Europe holding us spellbound, with "Lusitanias" and "Anconas" at the bottom of the sea, shall women dare to bid America stand unafraid? When a nation can no longer defend its own blood, when the flag is no longer a shield to citizenship then there is no country and the world is headed back to chaos. Man's responsibility and woman's are to-day alike in demanding that America be provided safety until the world be organized anew into order; in demanding that America be strong enough in her courage and in her equipment to defend in every land and on every sea her own citizens. Money is too slight a thing to be weighed against what money could never restore; regret is too hot a flame to be buried forever in a nation's heart.

We have come here—The Woman's Section of the Movement for National Preparedness—to help gather for our country the energies, the ardor and the devotion of united womanhood. Patriotism is not the fabled fountain defying all our quest; it is not the Grail, which one alone may see. It is the spring eternal, locked in the heights of man's capacities. Open the heart and set it free, it flows through a million rills into the waiting vales and fertilizes all the way. Our section has come to help water a land growing arid to its own need. We will work to make it blossom into the knowledge and fruit into the provision of adequate defense. What this adequate defense shall be we will not idly say. They who must defend us—the army and navy and the best specialists—with whom we are aligned are setting forth this equipment side. Their literature goes through our channels to tell this story. Our woman's message is for the training of the young, for the spirit of the home, for quickening the national life, for unifying women. Three weeks we have been at our task. We were the Board of the Belgian Relief Commission. We are asking all those who stood with us to rescue Belgium to come again and help protect America. To-day we have standing with us the leaders of seven national and one State organization—the National Council of Women, the Daughters of the American Revolution, Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic

(the National and Empire State), Daughters of the Confederacy, National Civic Federation, Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, Daughters of the Cincinnati. We have nine States under State chairmen—Alabama, New York, Mississippi, Missouri, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia and Massachusetts. Most of these States are under the Old Guard, the veterans who carried the banners with us for stricken Belgium. We stand all together for a safe America. The duty of defense goes with the privilege of citizenship. Equality of service is linked to equality of protection—to women must lie the sacrifices which both include.

This call for national safety and efficiency is woman's immediate duty to this country. What is her abiding duty to the world? Mankind in its upward battling has won some things which have been purchased through the blood of clans and peoples, races and civilizations. These trophies of victory are a human treasury which we, the latest heirs, must consecrate and maintain. They must be prized in growing, not in lessening, loyalty. These treasures are represented not in material things—in wealth or monuments, cities or empires—these have passed, leaving no vestige behind. What survives has become woven

into language itself, in a living soul borne in a living speech from age to growing age—honor, courage, liberty, equality. The cumulative duty of woman is at the summit of attainment to stand guardian of these spiritual forces. If the mother teach not her child that he owes fealty to these at the price of life she has not made him worthy of life. If she teach not her children, girls and boys, that they owe personal service and sacrifice to ideals she is not worthy of the race heritage. If she teach them not that democracy is the supreme asset of mankind, the highest, the most sacred expression of collective right, she is not worthy of freedom; she has no part in expanding destiny. Democracy in Europe is in its death-grapple with militarism. Women will not fail. In America she shall feel the pulse beating down three centuries of national life. Her influence shall carry to the alien the soul of her country. From her eyes has not gone the vision. In her spirit still dwells the dream. In this land of the world's great hope she will breathe a fresh inspiration and prophecy. She will be strong for the triumph of democracy. She will be worthy of defense, since in the chalice of her heart she will cover and guard the pledges of the divine. "For God is marching on."

THE TEACHING OF PATRIOTISM IN HOME AND SCHOOL

By MRS. A. J. GEORGE

Extracts from a Paper Read at National Security League Congress

THE events of the past eighteen months have made inevitable a restatement of the values of life. We have drifted along on the current of prosperity, a young and successful nation. We had accepted the enjoyment of liberty and the fruits of peace as we accepted air and sunshine. We had forgotten at what price they were bought and that only by zealous watchfulness could they be maintained. Suddenly this complacent confidence is agitated. We gravely ask ourselves if we have a reasonable hope of security, are we prepared to maintain order?

Have we as a nation such a devotion to the ideals on which our institutions were built that we count life itself as a trust to be surrendered, if need be, for the maintenance of those ideals? Any appeal for preparedness is vain unless the appeal be directed to a people fired with patriotism.

Patriotism had been extolled from public platforms for political purposes, but there was no national patriotism. A silly song suddenly brought us to the realization that there was a cult of cowardice in the land—a cult which had a large following. What had the mothers of this country of ours been doing that it was possible for them to swell the chorus of "I didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier"? That it was possible for their sons to organize anti-enlistment leagues and other societies with like seditious intent? Had political expediency taken the place of patriotic endeavor? What had been the examples in our homes, where were the precepts of our elaborate school system that such results had come to menace our national existence?

Napoleon was right when he demanded, "Give me the mothers!" for the nation which had ceased to be home-loving cannot produce patriots. The American woman has gone far afield, often with most earnest purpose it must be acknowledged, but she is now facing disaster because of her neglect to train her sons and daughters to love home above all else, save honor. Will she wrest victory from this impending disaster?

Patriotism is built up from a foundation of the love of the roof-tree, the devotion to the institution of the home and of family life, and the devoted purpose to defend that home and that family. As these various units have combined to form the State and Nation, the field of operations has widened, but the base is the individual family group consecrated to the love of man and woman and the child life for which the home exists. In that home is the nursery of the citizen. Nothing which school

or church or State can do will quite make up for the lack in the home.

"The true test of civilization," Emerson told us long ago, "is not in the census, nor in the size of the cities, nor in the crops, but in the kind of men that the country turns out." The woman who has taught her sons and daughters to love liberty, to reverence authority, to obey the law and to help in the betterment of mankind has rendered her highest patriotic service. Such service has been rendered by the mothers of France—the whole nation, men and women alike, are to-day putting into execution the lessons learned in family life. Read the early life of Pasteur as an illustration of this training for citizenship, and you no longer marvel at, but pay the deeper tribute to, a nation defending as one man the liberties under the enjoyment of which family life has been able to contribute its highest offering to the State. We have been prone in this country to trust too much to institutional work—to believe that the boy or girl could be sent into the school, go through a stated process and come out a finished product, bound in black broadcloth or white muslin, as the case might be. Our institutions have made worthy returns, but no community rises above the average of its individual homes in intelligence, courage, industry, thrift, patriotism, or any other personal or civic virtue. So this paper treats the subject "Teaching of Patriotism in Home and School" as one process, qualified in its results by the ideals of patriotic service upheld within the average home.

When Franklin declared that our form of government was "A good government for good people," I suppose that he meant the distribution of sovereignty among the people was powerful to advance the general welfare only as the people themselves were qualified to exercise that sovereignty. Education must be co-extensive with sovereignty, if our great adventure of democracy is to be successful. This education must develop the citizen to his highest efficiency physically, mentally and morally, for self-government is a form of character, not of power. The ideal of self-discipline, of self-mastery and direction must be followed with passionate enthusiasm if our form of government is to produce the "good" people by whom Franklin meant a people disciplined in self-control and able through physical capacity and moral integrity to assume their responsible share in building an efficient democracy on a basis of widely distributed sovereignty.

Love for one's country is not blind! It is alert to detect weakness, quick to remedy defects, zealous to strengthen weak places and to perfect the strongest possible organization for defence in men and material. This patriotism sets up one single standard of action—"Is this act of mine the act of a good citizen?" A simple test, but one which means endless sacrifice and which inevitably substitutes patriotic service for personal or political expediency. There is no detail too trifling to be built into this wall of security which shall defend our liberties.

One of the first conditions our women recognize is that the organization of a powerful national defense on a democratic basis is a question which concerns every citizen.

What kind of armaments the country requires, how much, what will be the cost, how to raise the money—these are questions for high authorities. But our women are aroused to the

need of defensive preparation and insistent with the demand that this need shall be met. The advocate of peace, who this week assured a committee of Congress that no enemy could take us unawares, because "wireless" would give us notice of the advance of a foe, did not speak for these women. These mothers demand that their sons shall not be massacred in the first line of defense, a needless sacrifice, under our existing military system, should they be sent as volunteers against trained soldiers. They demand adequate training, proper officers, suitable equipment for the sons they have trained in the faith that death is not the worst thing—that in moral issues there can be no neutrality and those whose moral sensibilities are blunted by "increase of goods" are to be rejected as was the church of the Laodiceans, because they are "lukewarm and neither cold nor hot."

JEANNETTE L. GILDER'S REASONS FOR OPPOSING WOMAN SUFFRAGE

[Miss Jeannette L. Gilder, sister of the late Richard Watson Gilder, who died at her home in New York on January 17th, is known throughout the country as an author, critic, playwright and editor. She founded the *Critic*, discovered Nazimova and was connected at various times with the *New York Herald*, the *New York Tribune*, *Putnam's*, the *Century Magazine*, and many other periodicals.

Commenting on Miss Gilder, the *Boston Transcript*, January 20th, says:

"Miss Gilder had a remarkably large circle of friends, for she was quick to recognize worth in literature and instant in season and out with offers of aid. Life to her was a spectacle of unrivalled interest, and she believed that the cultivation of the ability to describe accurately and graphically the varied incidents, big and little, in the great pageant of time, is a high endeavor for artistic attainment. The delineation of life is the aim of literature, and she was interested in literature, both as writer and critic, because her fundamental interest was in life itself, and the curious and manifold manifestations of the nature of humankind which are unfolded year after year."

Miss Gilder's "fundamental interest in life itself" and her critical ability are well illustrated in the following article from her pen which appeared in *Harper's Bazar*, May 19, 1894. Miss Gilder maintained these opinions and reaffirmed them shortly before her death]:

IT has been quite a shock to people who do not know me, but who thought they did, to find me opposed to woman's suffrage. Because I have been for so many years a working-woman, and because the profession I chose is, or was at the time I entered it, supposed to be entirely a man's profession, they thought I wanted all the privileges of men. But I don't. You could have counted the women journalists on the fingers of one hand at the time I entered the ranks. Nowadays you could not find fingers enough in a regiment to count them on. There are now certain branches of journalistic work that are almost entirely given over to women, and women not only edit mere departments of daily papers, but there are those who edit the Sunday editions of some of the biggest dailies.

I am a great believer in the mental equality of the sexes, but I deny the physical equality. I believe in putting men's work and women's work of the same kind side by side, and judging them not as sex work, but simply as work. To have a "Woman's Building" at the World's Fair did not seem to me a compliment to the sex, but I believe some good reasons were advanced for it. Even some of its staunchest advocates, however, doubt if there will ever be such another building at such another show. I do not believe in sex in literature or art. Every book should be compared with all other books of its kind, and so with every picture, statue or musical composition. There are few trades or professions that I do not think women fairly well equipped for,

or capable of being prepared for. I cannot say that I quite like the idea of a woman preacher, but that may be a mere prejudice; nor do I think that I would retain a woman lawyer. But this is neither here nor there.

In politics I do not think that women have any place. The life is too public, too wearing, and too unfitted to the nature of women. It is bad enough for men—so bad, that some of the best of them keep out of it; and it would be worse for women. Many of the women who are enthusiastic in the cause of suffrage seem to think that if they are once given the power to vote, every vexed question will be settled, every wrong righted. By dropping their ballots in the box they believe that they can set in motion the machinery of an earthly paradise. I wish I could think so. It is my opinion that it would let loose the wheels of purgatory. If the ballot were the end, that would be one thing, but it is only the beginning. If women vote they must hold office, they must attend primaries, they must sit on juries. We shall have women "heelers" and women "bosses"; there will be the "girls" of the Fourth Ward (when it comes to New York) as well as the "boys."

What will become of home life, I should like to know, if the mother and the father both are at the "primary" or the convention? Who will look after the children? Hired mothers? But can every woman with political ambitions afford to pay for a "resident" or a "visiting" mother? And even if she can, will such a one take the place of the real mother? I think not. Cannot a woman find a sufficiently engrossing "sphere" in the very important work of training her children! If there are any sons among them, she can mould them into good citizens; if there are any daughters, she can guide their footsteps along any path they may choose, for all paths but the political are open to them. I do not think that to be a good housewife should be the end and aim of every woman's ambition, but I do think that it should be some part of it; for I am old-fashioned enough to be a pious believer in the influence of a mother's training upon her children. Read the life of any great man, and you will see how much of his greatness he owed to his mother. It seems to me that it is a bigger feather in a woman's cap—a brighter jewel in her crown—to be the mother of a George Washington than to be a member of Congress from the Thirty-second District.

From the day Adam and Eve were created to the present year of grace men and women have been different in all important respects. They were made to fill different rôles. It was intended by nature that men should work, and that women should share in the disposition and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor. Circumstances alter cases, and women are often—alas! too often—

driven out into the world to make their own way. Would they find it any easier if they had the ballot? Do men find it so easy to get work? If they do, why are there so many thousands of the clamoring unemployed?

It is said that the laws are unfair to women. Then call the attention of the law-makers to the fact, and see how soon they will be amended. I think that men want to be fair to women, and a petition will work wonders with a Congressman. Will women always be fair to women? That is a serious question. They may on some points, but the question of chivalry never comes into consideration between women. It does between men and women, and the latter profit by it.

I speak from experience when I say that I don't see how women can cultivate home life and enter the political arena. Circumstances forced me to go out into the world to earn my own bread and a part of that of others. When my mother was living, she made the home, and all went well. But after that, after marriages and deaths, a family of four small children came to me for a home. I don't mean for support, for they had a

father living, but for a home. I had to take, as far as possible, the place of my sister, their mother. To do my duty by them and by my work was the most difficult task I ever undertook. I had to go to my office every day and leave them to the care of others. Sometimes the plan worked well, but oftener it worked ill—very ill indeed. I had seven people doing, or attempting to do, what I and two others could have done had I been able to be at home and look after things myself. Suppose that politics had been added to my other cares? Suppose that I had had meetings to attend and candidates to elect, perhaps to be elected myself? What would have been the result? Even direr disaster! We cannot worship God and Mammon; neither can we be politicians and women. It is against nature, against reason. Give woman everything she wants, but not the ballot. Open every field of learning, every avenue of industry to her, but keep her out of politics. The ballot cannot help her, but it can hurt her. She thinks it a simple piece of paper, but it is a bomb—one that may go off in her own hands, and work a mischief that she little dreams of.

WHY CORA M. DOW WAS AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

THE death of Miss Cora M. Dow of Cincinnati, who, starting with one small drug store left her by her father, established eleven others and accumulated a fortune of \$1,000,000, was the signal for suffragists to point to her as an example of what women can achieve in business.

Miss Dow left approximately \$700,000 to the Symphony Orchestra Association of Cincinnati and bequests to all of her employees. She was noted for humanitarian work, and her love for dumb animals was second to her love for music. In every package wrapped at one of the Dow stores was a message: "Be

kind to the horse," followed by instructions regarding the care of dumb animals.

Miss Dow was a contributing member to the Cincinnati and Hamilton County Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and during the last Ohio campaign she sent the following expression of her anti-suffrage sentiments to Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz, business secretary. Miss Dow reiterated these opinions within a week of her death. There is no foundation for the intimation, widely circulated, that she was a suffragist.

"THE GREAT FORCES OF THE WORLD ARE SILENT"

BY CORA M. DOW

"I AM not yet convinced that suffrage for women is good. I am for a restricted vote and I consider any movement that will increase the vote a calamity. History is builded on the blunders of well-meaning men and women. The women, in their efforts to obtain the ballot, say that when they vote, they will determine what men and women shall receive as wages, that women to-day are working for less than a living wage. Supply and demand and the law of competition determine what men and women shall earn. A porter in a Dow shop earns \$11.00 per week. There are 500 porters obtainable in this city in the event of a resignation. A Caruso earns a quarter of a million dollars a year. There is but one Caruso. Do you see the working of the law of supply and demand?

"The lack of adequate legislation or a surplus of obnoxious laws as regards labor, sweatshops, prisons, poverty, child labor and other evils of the times are not due to the fact that men only have the franchise. They are simply conditions of the times. Blunders of the people, if you will, and they must be cleared up gradually by men and women, and THEY WILL BE as we grow toward light. All things evolve upward.

"One of the big arguments in the fight for votes for women is 'Give us the vote that we may use it as a weapon to bribe legislators and get what we demand.' Shame on the women who admit that most of the nation's troubles are due to political corruption and who would yet ask to become a part of said corruption if it would benefit their pockets or enable them to secure more comforts.

"The great forces of the world are silent. Every good woman influences some man for good, be it brother, husband, lover or

father. She develops higher thinking and the cultivation of an ideal above the commonplace ambitions of life. The vote for men and women would be good if all had to stand an examination as to their thinking capacity and knowledge.

"I have been in the retail drug business for twenty-seven years. I've fought in the courts, I've done all the things that a business man does and I am free to confess that I've always had the square deal in court and in all other places. In fact, I believe much of the way things were made a bit easier for me because I was a woman and this not because I was an exceptional woman, but because of the law of sex—the feeling that is born in every man's breast to protect womankind.

"This law is God-made and all women should try to preserve it instead of struggling for the so-called equality of sex. You step into the elevator, a man removes his hat; you spill your packages, a man rushes to the rescue, picks them up, and touches his hat and smiles because he was privileged to serve a woman; you step into a crowded court room and men scuffle about to get you a comfortable chair, hand you a fan, carry you a glass of ice water and the attorney for the 'other side' closes the window because you, a woman, are in a draft.

"I could write three volumes on the joy of just being a woman with 'no rights,' but what's the use? Because of the confounded gallantry of the men we shall have 'our rights' and then this best of all possible worlds will jog along with its murders, poverty, ignorance, suicides, prisons, sweatshops, etc., etc. Because 'God is in His Heaven,' etc., I'm not going to worry whether we get our 'rights' or not."

A WOMAN VOTER'S VIEWS

By MARY JANE THACHER (Idaho)

ON this subject of the advisability of woman's voting I feel qualified to speak. For thirty years I have given it close study from every point of view, having been reared by a mother of intelligence who was an ardent advocate of equal suffrage—or woman's rights, as it was then termed—married to a man in active political work—that was before our State became pro-suffrage, then burdened—and burdened is the right word, for the privilege of voting, once conferred, becomes an obligation of no light weight—with the ballot for nearly twenty years.

First, however, I wish to quote from an editorial in the Lewiston (Idaho) *Morning Tribune*. Its writer, Mr. A. H. Alford, has no editorial peer—since the death of Harvey Scott of the Portland *Morning Oregonian*—on the Pacific Coast. His editorials show, in substance, a clearness of conservative judgment, a knowledge of statecraft and a depth and breadth of human and humane understanding rarely seen and in form an incomparably beautiful and classical dignity. He says:

ADOPTED BY A MEAGRE VOTE

"While the logic of events is fast overruling the theoretical and even the practical objections to the civil equality of women, nevertheless it is well to have a certain amount of conservative nonconformity in the treatment of these new questions. In fact, the *Tribune* is rather of the opinion that the failures and defects of equal suffrage arise from this lack of cautious approach to a new subject.

"The pioneer States in suffragism adopted the policy with but little thought of its meaning and of its operations by so meagre a vote as to scarcely constitute a legal expression upon an important constitutional question. Few persons voted upon the question in Idaho because it was not taken seriously and because it was not understood and so unrepresentative was the vote that the issue was carried into the Supreme Court, where it was for the first time held that a majority of electors voting upon a particular subject and not a majority of all the votes cast at that election was sufficient to alter the organic law. Every suffragist in the State voted and worked for the amendment, while only those who had solid adverse convictions voted against it. The half dozen western States that pioneered the movement all had somewhat similar experience, so that it is probably correct to say the policy was introduced by accident and not by deliberation.

A LIABILITY INSTEAD OF AN ASSET

"Thereafter there was a lull of some years before suffragism became an important issue and when it came, and as it now stands, it was in a new guise, that of constituting an elevating and invigorating factor in politics. Herein, we think, is where the great fallacy lies. Instead of being adopted as an asset suffragism should have been adopted as a liability. The new voters were all wholly inexperienced and, in a very great measure, unqualified in political activity. Even the mechanical process of casting a ballot is still an unsolved mystery to most of them. The underlying principles of government, the secondary and remote operations of policies and systems, the human equation, countless considerations that wise and enlightened statescraft must accommodate itself to in dealing with the affairs of the great masses of dissimilar conditions and interests, necessarily had at the beginning little or no meaning to the average new voter. At the same time politicians and propagandists hailed this untried and uninformed electorate as a heaven-sent guide to all that was beatific and worthy and useful in human government. Necessarily there has been failure and disappointment, not essentially because equal suffrage was wrong or inexpedient, but because the true relationship was reversed and the least capable given pre-

ference, in the argument and in the plan, over the most capable."

And that is all true.

NO PURIFIED POLITICS

This intricately subtle game of politics, with its amazing number of wheels within wheels, is bewildering to even the most enlightened men in whose business it forms an important factor; and yet women, who with few exceptions are absolutely ignorant of, and hopelessly uninterested in its first rudimentary rules, would rush right into this great game and expect to play with winning hands. Could anything be more childishly absurd?

And few of the small number who do know the game and play it with keen intelligence are in it to "purify politics," but because of its fascinations—and it is fascinating—or for their own aggrandizement, or merely because they are born bosses. These are not theories or suppositions, but positive, provable facts. It is a fact, too, that it is not the down-trodden woman who is the greatest agitator.

The first claim made by women in extenuation of their wishing to have the ballot while untutored in its use is that there are many ignorant men voters. That is regrettably true; and these ignorant voters are the tools in the hands of corrupt bosses that make politics the game it is. Fortunately these unfit voters are in a minority.

What I cannot understand is how any sane thinker could expect to better conditions by changing this minority to a vast majority by pouring into the polls overwhelming numbers of incompetent women voters, who would as surely be the instruments of the unscrupulous as their ignorant brothers.

A MORMON INSTITUTION

Their second claim is that only by its use can women become proficient ballotists—that "we learn to do by doing."

That has not proven to be the case in our State or in Colorado. In Utah woman suffrage has always worked well, for the Mormons, though differing from us in religious customs, are a pretty substantial class of people whose women vote as their men direct.

By the way, did it ever occur to you that equal suffragism in the West was a Mormon institution, and why? It began in Utah, then spread to the States in which Mormonism has a foothold. We know—though if we wish to retain our political heads we keep that knowledge to ourselves—that Mormons control State politics in Idaho. Our becoming pro-suffrage was not so accidental as it seemed. There were plenty of plural wives in South Idaho at that time.

But to go back to the claim that we improve with years, let me give you an example of its fallacy.

Before the last presidential election it was quite evident that, owing to a division of the Republican Party, the administration would become Democratic. That would mean sweeping changes in federal offices not under civil service reform. Then is when we should have got busy, and, knowing (as we are supposed to know) that we were without Democratic representation in Congress, should have selected with great care the central committeemen throughout the State, that we might have the right kind of men appointed to these offices. But did we?

I cannot answer that question without being personal, but if anyone cherishing the delusion that "women's votes purify politics" really wishes to know the truth let him come West and make a careful investigation into existing conditions.

PROHIBITION DESPITE WOMEN'S VOTES

Last winter our Legislature passed a State prohibition law, but it was not the woman's vote that did it, but a man—a professional reformer from outside the State. Prohibition by local op-

tion failed because the majority of women will not vote against saloons, as the sporting men discovered to their distress when they staked large sums on the "drys" at our first city option election; and as Jack London also discovered to his surprise, for he had thought—when he wished to have John Barleycorn put out of his son's reach—it was only necessary to get on his horse and ride down the Valley of the Moon and vote for woman suffrage.

Politics need purifying. Every good man—and, thank God, good men are still in the lead—knows that and would, I am sure, be more than glad to give woman the ballot if by so doing they could root out the evils. But the majority of men in the majority of States are wise enough to see the pitfall in the path of equal suffrage—this very fact that it is putting power into the wrong hands by increasing the incompetent minority of voters to a majority.

Some women think the oppression of centuries can be wiped out by no other means. Perhaps that is so. My only fear is

that this spirit unbottled will, like wicked genii, turn and rend its liberators.

MORE HARM THAN GOOD

I am a firm believer in woman's rights—her right to her own person, her own property, to fair wages for household and other labors and to the financial and economic management of matters pertaining to the home. To have the knowledge of facts and the foresight necessary to successful political work requires a concentrated application that women as a class cannot give without jeopardizing future prosperity. Those of us who must, or who wish to, replenish the earth with our kind cannot become "invigorating and elevating factors" in politics. Most business pursuits go hand-in-glove with politics—babies do not.

And it seems to me that those of us who are intelligent enough to vote helpfully should be intelligent enough to realize that we would be doing more harm than good by insisting on putting the ballot into the hands of the least capable majority and should be willing and glad to place politics and government in the hands of the more suitable sex.

WOMAN'S PLACE IN WAR

MISS EDITH MILNER writes to the *Anti-Suffrage Review* (English):

"Never was woman's place more clearly defined than at the outbreak of this great world war. First and foremost it is in the hospitals, and nobly did the women answer the call. But the number, though unlimited as far as need goes, can only be estimated by the special gift, and above all, by long and careful training. As the matron of a well-known hospital said to a suffragette who announced herself as a born nurse, 'We have no room for such here.' Women in hundreds went in for training and came out qualified, and there are thousands everywhere, fulfilling woman's highest calling. But what of the millions left? There is work for everyone, but it is work that must not or should not be advertised.

Nothing has been more offensive than the braying of trumpets, the processions, the meetings, of the militant suffragettes, who horrified the civilized world by their wanton destruction of property, their attempts, in some cases too successful, to destroy sacred buildings, their threats to the clergy, their profane interruptions of God's services; in fine, these forerunners of the Huns, who only stopped short of taking the human lives their antics had certainly endangered. Are they now to dictate to England's law-abiding daughters what woman's duty is? One of these (and probably there are hundreds more) has been inundated with suffragette literature, because she responded to the request from the men at the front and made a public appeal to the women of the North, which was magnificently responded to, for help to make sandbags for the trenches. She was patted on the back and invited to meetings to hear Miss Christa-

bel Pankhurst on the situation. Needless to say, she received no offers of help in the necessary but non-advertising work of making sandbags.

Only a week or two ago one of the suffragettes came uninvited to a party given weekly to wounded and convalescent soldiers, and was heard urging them to record their vote for women in the near future on the first opportunity. The men listened politely, they are all gentlemen, these gallant defenders of ours; then one of them said: 'And when you get the vote, madam, will you respect noble mansions, public property and sacred buildings, or if you find the vote does not bring you all you expect will you still terrorize the weaker vessel, man?' Her reply was not heard. I think this confirms the statement one hears on many sides, of the base advantage taken by many of these persons in their visits to hospitals, in order to air their sentiments, and to make shameless bids for the vote.

Some say that when the war is over the women will get the vote. I say, as I have said before, if the kind that want it do force it on women who deserve that noble name, God will have forsaken England.

How can I better conclude than by laying my homage at the feet of that noble woman, Nurse Edith Cavell? She gave her life for her country, for her God, for the womanhood of England. She had devoted her great gifts to the noblest work women can do, and in the full flower of her splendid womanhood she passed on, murdered by the perpetrators of such acts as suffragettes have not been ashamed to commit, and she will live forever, not only in the courts above, but in the memory of her sister women and the true manhood of the whole world."

HER SUPREME SPHERE

AT an anti-suffrage meeting held in Quincy, Mass., in the recent campaign, Mr. Brooks Adams introduced Mrs. A. J. George and gave this most interesting summary of the dangers inherent in the suffrage movement:

"Ladies, I have been asked here to-night not to make a speech, but only to express my sympathy with your cause. This I do readily, as I sincerely believe that pretty much all that I think worth preserving in modern civilization is bound up in your success. It is true that I have personally only a slender interest in the contest, since I shall be dead before the feminist propaganda, should it prevail, can bear its full fruit, and yet even so

I cannot contemplate the social revolution which such an event portends with indifference.

"From the remotest antiquity women have formed the cement or core of society, for women have represented the constant and men the variable principle in human relations. The man has been a farmer, or a hunter, or a shepherd, or a fisher, or a sailor, or a soldier, and to win a livelihood he has been forced to wander far. But he has always returned hoping to find his wife and children safe at home. Thus the woman, by the law of her being, has incarnated the essence of the family, and the family has been the corner-stone of the State, the support of the church

and the standard of morality. And to achieve her destiny the woman has sacrificed herself, just as the man, in moments of peril, has always given his life for the woman.

"But to perform her office the woman has had to divest herself of outside interests and to live at home. She could no more quit her family than the soldier could stray from his regiment, the sailor desert his ship, or the shepherd abandon his flock. For all obedience, all discipline and all moral influence is rooted in unremitting personal supervision.

"Most unhappily, as I conceive, I have seen during my lifetime a growing tendency among the women of our blood to sneer at this supremest of human functions as though maternity, with its restraints and sacrifices, were a task below their genius. To me the spectacle is repellent, I may say shocking, for it is casting from the world its purest ideal and its highest source of happiness. It is casting out that ideal which not so very long ago our ancestors universally adored in the veneration of the Virgin, and which all men in every age and every land have loved and venerated in the persons of their mothers."

STATE CONTROL OF SUFFRAGE ESSENTIAL TO SELF-GOVERNMENT

THE suffragists have been defeated, at the polls, by eleven great States within three years. These States, Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts, contain nearly one-half the population of the United States. They represent over four times the population living in the eleven States where women have been given full suffrage. The majorities in the eleven States where suffrage has been defeated within three years total more than ten times as many votes as the combined pluralities by which eleven States adopted suffrage in the course of forty-seven years.

Eighteen other States, Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Texas, Vermont and Virginia, have defeated woman suffrage propositions in their Legislatures, not deeming the demand for suffrage sufficiently strong among the people they represent to call for a popular election on this question.

Where studied and discussed most, woman suffrage has proved most unpopular. Massachusetts, where the question has been discussed for sixty-seven years, and where the women have had the school vote for a generation, defeated woman suffrage by the largest popular majority "ever given against any man or measure in that State."

Michigan and Ohio, upon considering the question the second time, after discussing it widely from both sides, returned majorities increased by nearly 100,000 votes in each instance.

If ever a political doctrine has been given a fair trial in the United States, woman suffrage has; yet it was after its trial for periods up to forty-six years in the West that the other States have decided that it is unwise to impose the additional stress and tax upon their government that double suffrage would mean.

A year ago, Representative Lenroot, of Wisconsin, speaking on the floor of the House, said:

"During the past five years woman suffrage has prevailed in seven States. At the last election [1914] it was submitted in seven States and defeated in five States. What are we to gather from that action? That there is a well-settled public demand for an amendment to the Federal Constitution in this respect? I ask you, sir, is not such public opinion as has been expressed directly to the contrary?"

"I am sorry that that condition prevails, because I believe in woman suffrage. I have perhaps made as many speeches for it as any member of this House not from a woman suffrage State, but because, as I view it, public sentiment does not justify me in voting for the amendment, I cannot give it my vote."

Since Mr. Lenroot's speech, the House of Representatives, the Legislatures of sixteen separate States, and the voters of four States containing over one-quarter of the inhabitants of the

country have added the weight of their adverse majorities to the public sentiment against woman suffrage.

Yet, in spite of this, suffragists have raised upwards of \$100,000 in order to pass an amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibiting any State's qualifying its electorate according to sex.

What does this mean? It means simply that suffragists, defeated wherever the people have been informed and interested in the question, have renounced the principle of democracy for which they ostensibly contend, and in spite of the overwhelming popular vote against their cause, they would juggle the Federal Constitution itself in order to attain their ends in spite of the will of the majority of the men and women of this nation.

What justification is there for allowing a Federal amendment on this question to pass? What necessity calls upon the Legislature of Wyoming, for instance, to say that the people of South Carolina shall not have the right to regulate their suffrage qualifications?

Must the Legislature of Nevada, representing but 20,000 women, have the power to say that the 3,000,000 women of New York must be enfranchised, even though the voters have just gone to the polls and registered, presumably at their request, an emphatic "No"?

Another thing is to be considered: double suffrage means more taxes. Is Utah, for example, with only a few women, to have the right to compel the citizens of Massachusetts to pay more taxes for woman suffrage when Utah bears no part of Massachusetts' burden and problems of government under double suffrage?

This is what a Federal amendment would mean. But it would mean even more than this.

Should such an amendment be passed by Congress, it would be before the States until adopted. Those States which ratify the measure take final action; the legislators of those States that reject it may be attacked, cajoled or heckled until they do ratify it; or, if thirty-six of the forty-eight States ratify the amendment, the twelve that reject it are ignored altogether.

The voters themselves would have no more opportunity to express their opinions on this measure.

No one not obsessed with the fanatical notion that the end justifies the means, and that woman suffrage is just and desirable no matter how obtained, can argue in favor of a Federal amendment to enfranchise women.

When the original Articles of Confederation were being debated in Congress shortly after the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, proposed that they should not be amended by the majority of the States' representatives "unless the majority of States concurring should also comprise a majority of the inhabitants of the United States."

But the Congress did even more than this. It provided so jealously for the safeguarding of individual State's rights that no amendment could be passed unless adopted by all of the

thirteen States. As a result, single States in many instances defeated measures of great importance, such as provisions for the national defence and the raising of funds for the payment of debts contracted by the Congress for supplies to the Revolutionary Army.

Therefore, when the present Constitution was adopted in 1787, it was provided that it could be amended in the interests of national security without the unanimous consent of the States. The framers of the Constitution, however, never dreamed that three quarters of the number of States would not include the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the United States, as is the case to-day, where twelve States—all of which have recently rejected woman suffrage—actually contain the majority of the people of the country.

The amending of the Federal Constitution by a vote of three-fourths of all the States was supposed to insure not only the rights of the majority of the States, but of the individual States. It was never intended that the Federal Government, under this instrument, should coerce and dictate to the States on matters of local concern.

That the suffragists have tried by every means in their power to juggle through a Federal amendment under these circumstances speaks volumes for their estimation of democracy and patriotism, and their understanding of the vital problems of the country they aspire to rule.

We use the word "juggle" advisedly. When a congressman objects to voting for the amendment, the suffragist tells him that he is not really voting for woman suffrage, but for its *submission* to the various States. She conceals, if she can, the fact that if once passed through Congress, the amendment will give her and her kind the right to camp out at every capital a hundred years if necessary, to annoy every State Legislature until thirty-six of them have ratified the amendment. And a bare majority is sufficient for this purpose in each case.

There was never in the history of this country so unfair, so undemocratic and so partisan a proposition presented to the United States Congress as the proposal to enfranchise women without their consent, in States where the people have registered an emphatic decision against this experiment, and in States where woman suffrage would be an absolute menace to good government.

GIVING FIRST AID TO FEMINISM

(Continued from page 3)

the ——— has stood for us all along the line as no other magazine in America has. When we fight for suffrage, for economic freedom, for professional opportunities, for scientific sex knowledge, there stands the ———, always understanding, always helping. Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, Art Young and the rest are genuine warm-hearted feminists. Now what can we do for them?"

A paragraph follows about finances, and then this significant admission as to how the magazine has been published hitherto:

"So far every year it [money] has been raised by the personal efforts of the editor among the magazine's few rich friends. You know what it is to raise money. Isn't it time that we gave him a little encouragement?"

This advertisement is signed by Mrs. Vira Boarman Whitehouse, president of the New York State Suffrage Association, the largest State association of suffragists in America; by Alice Carpenter, a suffrage leader, who told the *Tribune* that the questionable ballad was "delightful"; by Zona Gale, who wrote the suffrage photo-play "Your Girl and Mine," which was exhibited by the National Suffrage Association until exposures of its base-

THE VOTIAC

By FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ

Apologies to John Kendrick Bangs

[New York suffragists decide that no organization, reform, social or philanthropic, shall receive help from suffragists until the vote is won. The *Congressional Union* declares the enfranchisement of woman is more important than national defense, revenue, commerce or international relations.]

Vote, vote, vote!

What of the items we note

Telling of woe and of death and disaster,
Let's spend simoleons fast and yet faster,
Send out more orators, soap-box and stage,
Buy up a corner in history's page.
Dollars work marvels with public opinion.
Little care we save for suffrage dominion.

Vote!

Wonderful vote,

Marvelous, glorious, grand and immense,
Meaning much more than our country's defense,
Revenue, commerce or friendly relations,
Poverty, warring or crime's degradations.
Then why be troubled with tiresome bothers,
Walking slow pace in the path of our fathers?

Vote!

Work for the vote!

Turn a deaf ear to the rumors afloat,
Telling of woe and of death and disaster;
Why should we recognize man as our master?
Loose all the vapid conventions that bind,
Care naught for what lies before or behind;
Let us claim freedom past any control,
Breath of the nostrils and life to the soul.

Vote!

Fight for the vote!

March through the country with banners afloat.
What if we weary at last of our plan
Now let us win just to prove that we can;
Strike off the shackles whatever the cost,
Gaining the ballot all else is well lost.
Dollars work wonders with public opinion,
What do we care save for suffrage dominion?
Fight till King Man, now so smugly serene,
Passes his scepter and crown to the queen.

less plot made it a boomerang to suffrage; by Mrs. Marie Jenny Howe, a member of the Board of Directors of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City; and by Mrs. Anna Strumsky Walling, a socialist.

The editor, whose paper could only be published by the support of its "few rich friends"—not by a bona-fide list of subscribers and patrons among the public—has been the chief purveyor of feminism in the last few years, outside of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, which is the only national organization of women that has published, indorsed and circulated feminist literature.

"TOO LITTLE TO DO"

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President of the National Woman Suffrage Association, who created a sensation a month ago by her advice to suffragists to put "Suffrage First" and to "have a printed card" denying all appeals for charity until women got the vote, has reinforced her original statement by another even more remarkable.

When Dr. Mary Lines of the Cumberland Street Hospital, Brooklyn, told the New York City Woman Suffrage Party recently that while suffrage is an important thing for women, she feels that they should also take interest in other matters, Mrs. Catt replied:

"In spite of what Dr. Lines has said, I think that suffrage should come first. Even the doctor does not realize what a wonderful thing the vote is. The world, as it is, does not have the right kind of health. Women have too much leisure, too, and too little to do and too much time to think of their ills."

Among the women who have "too much leisure and too little to do" are the 93 out of every 100 householders who are running their own homes without any servants; rearing an average of three children; preparing over 1,000 meals a year for a family of five, with no limitation of hours or one-day-rest-in-seven.

Of the 24,000,000 women over twenty-one in the United States, over 16,000,000 are wives without servants; over 6,000,000 are gainfully occupied at work which is considered so tiring that even "man-made laws" grant these women rest periods, seats in stores and limited hours. This leaves but 2,000,000 for the "leisure class" who might put "Suffrage First."

Considered mathematically—as every question involving votes must be—Mrs. Catt proposes to force eleven women to assume an extra duty now done better by men, because one woman has "too much leisure, too little to do and too much time to think of her ills." A better description of the class of women who want votes has never been given by their National President.

THE SUFFRAGE MIND

EVERY day brings new evidence in support of the theory advanced by an eminent psychologist that many of the suffrage leaders are women with the mental processes of children.

Every one will recall the promise made by the suffragists to the New York conductors and motormen last fall, that if they would vote for suffrage the suffragists would never again "get off the car backwards" or say "Johnnie is three when he is ten."

Just like the child who promises to be "good forever and ever" if his father will only take him to the circus "just this once."

And the world is still laughing at the Schwimmers and the Boissevains and the other suffragists who went with the Ford "Oscarnauts" across the Atlantic in the childish belief that their presence there would "get the boys out of the trenches."

But there has been nothing more illuminating along this line recently than the statements of Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Hardy of the suffrage forces before the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate on December 16, 1915.

Mrs. Catt, speaking in behalf of the proposed Federal Amendment, was asked by

Mr. Chandler of New York whether she did not think majorities should count in politics.

"The evidence shows," he said in effect, "that the majority of the voters are not in favor of woman suffrage, but it would be possible, if this amendment should go through Congress, for three-fourths of the States, containing a minority of the voters, to impose their will upon the majority. Do you think that would be fair?"

"Why," replied Mrs. Catt naively, as if it were the most obvious thing in the world, "in that case we could make new State boundaries, according to population!"

Mrs. Hardy told the same committee that suffrage was defeated in Michigan because on election day there were floods throughout the State. A cruel member of the Committee wanted to know if she thought only suffragists were kept from the polls by the floods, but Mrs. Hardy only glared, evidently thinking such a foolish question unworthy of an answer.

All of which helps us to appreciate what Uncle Sam is losing in refusing to allow these would-be stateswomen to participate in the settlement of his great national and international problems!

G. C.

BAD ADMINISTRATION

(Special to *The Christian Science Monitor*)

London, England—For some time there has been strong dissatisfaction among the members of the Women's Social and Political Union with regard to the policy adopted by Mrs. Pankhurst during the last months—a policy which has not been sanctioned by the union as a whole, but which, nevertheless, it would appear, that the funds of the union have been employed to further. A meeting of members and recent ex-members of the Women's Social and Political Union was held at Brondesbury Hall recently, at which a manifesto dealing with the relations of Mrs. Pankhurst to the union was discussed and approved. The concluding passages of the manifesto are as follows: "No annual report or financial statement of the Central W. S. P. U. has been issued since the spring of 1914, and in the continued absence of such a statement grave misgivings, damaging to the women's cause, are likely to arise. It is, therefore, a matter of urgent importance that Mrs. Pankhurst, as hon. treasurer of the union, should, without further delay, issue a report and duly audited balance sheet and statement of account, showing especially how the funds have been dealt with since the commencement of the war. In regard to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, it would seem obvious that the time has now come when she should resign her association with the union as one of its leaders, or else should offer a clear explanation to the members of her continued absence from this country at a time when the services of all women of capacity and goodwill are so sorely needed here." The chair, at the meeting, was taken by Mrs. Elinor Penn Gaskell.

HOW HE KNOWS

THE following letter has been received from the president of one of the largest State universities of the Middle West. His name is withheld to save him annoyance:

"I may say frankly that I am opposed to woman suffrage. I spent nine years in Colorado, during which time I voted to make the right of women to vote a part of the Constitution of the State. If I did any good by that vote, I have not yet been able to discover it.

"I believe in the students of an institution of learning, like the ——— University, having opportunity to know something about both sides of such important questions. Let me suggest that you send your printed matter to the Carnegie Library of ——— University, where I am sure it will be placed where students interested can have access to it."

THE SUFFRAGE HYPODERMIC

By MRS. JOSEPH M. STODDARD

ALTHOUGH woman has been subjected for more than half a century to hypodermic injections of suffrage, it must now be clear to every intelligent observer that only in cases of natural predisposition has the drug had any chronic effect in this country. Fantastic visions of a "new sphere" in which no sex line will be drawn, and an overpowering desire to imitate man, are the immediate symptoms of its use; but these are usually quickly repelled by the leucocytes of common sense, and the records show that in less than 10 per cent. of all the women hypodermically treated with suffrage has the citadel of reason been permanently disturbed.

The suffrage "dope" is put up in pellet form for popular use by the firm of Sex Antagonism & Co., the "Co." representing a long list of enemies of the natural order, including "Sex Equality," "Sex Independence," "Abject Slave," "Married Parasite," "Bondwoman," "Easy Divorce," "Social Revolution" and "Birth Limitation." This firm has almost unlimited financial resources, but has great difficulty, nevertheless, in securing and keeping an adequate supply of help, as the age-old firm of Mere Man, Marriage & Home, which deals in Love, Motherhood and Christian Civilization, is constantly offering more satisfying and ennobling occupations, with a guarantee of greater usefulness to society.

The pellets come in a bottle blown by Glamour & Misrepresentation and can be

dissolved for hypodermic purposes only by boiling in a solution of Fanaticism and Ignorance. The dope contains several deleterious ingredients, chief of which are Feminism, Socialism and Economic Independence, and the bottles are labeled according to the ingredient that predominates.

In cases where suffrage dope-using has become epidemic, and its victims have secured control of the government, results injurious to the community have always followed. These results vary somewhat with the character of the people afflicted, but usually take the form of sentimental laws, high taxes, neglected homes and children, a lessening of the respect of men for women, increase of marital infelicity and divorce, a general weakening of the moral fiber of the electorate and a lax administration of the law. In one community, for instance, one home in every twelve has been broken up in a single year. Another community has been so weakened that twice in ten years it has had to abdicate its sovereignty and call upon the Federal Government to suppress anarchy and restore law and order in its midst. Other communities, through constant use of the suffrage hypodermic, have become indifferent to child welfare, the social evil and the prevention of gambling.

The greatest warning against the use of this dangerous narcotic, however, is found in the case of individuals. Many excellent women, taking the dope at its advertised

value as an aid to social service, have been completely changed in character by its constant use. Women addicted to the form of the dope known as "Feminism" are filled with a passionate desire for what they term "sex freedom" and are openly contemptuous of conventional and Christian restraints, ignoring prescribed customs of marriage and deliberately and shamelessly revising the ten commandments to suit their new code of morals. One injection of "Economic Independence" has been known to cause a mother to leave husband and children in order to earn her own living by working for some other man for wages, while those addicted to "Socialism" would drive religion out of the world and break down all sex barriers.

The record shows that a very large percentage of those who become habitual users of the dope are disappointed spinsters, women who have married unhappily, foolish sentimentalists, masculine women, women of neurotic tendency who crave excitement and those with a mania for the limelight. Many have fallen victims through thoughtlessness and lack of information, but these are quickly cured by the antidotes, facts and reason. The great majority of women, however, are entirely unaffected by the narcotic. States in which reside more than 90 per cent. of Uncle Sam's inhabitants have refused thus far to authorize by constitutional amendment the use of the suffrage hypodermic.

DISSATISFACTION IN ILLINOIS

ILLINOIS voters were never given a chance to express their own or their wives' opinions on woman suffrage. At the primary election in April, 1912, a straw vote was cast in Chicago alone, which went three to one against suffrage. Of the 606,764 Chicago men who voted, 471,354 registered themselves opposed to 135,410 in favor.

This strong expression of opinion against suffrage convinced the suffragists that there was no hope of getting the vote through a referendum to the people. Consequently, a lobby of prominent women went to the State capital and obtained limited suffrage from the Legislature.

Unfortunately, no referendum of the question can be had in Illinois before 1922. Meanwhile, there is a great deal of dissatisfaction being expressed by observers of limited suffrage in that State.

Although there is no anti-suffrage association at present in Illinois, many persons seem to think that there ought to be one, and requests for literature and arguments against suffrage are constantly being

forwarded to the national office which were originally addressed to the "Illinois Anti-Suffrage Association." These persons who believe that Chicago is or ought to be the focal point of anti-suffrage activity are not only residents of Illinois, but of other States as far west as California, where high school students who recently applied for literature for debates are evidently under the impression that Illinois is the place that should furnish the material.

There are other indications, according to the newspapers, that "the suffragists of Illinois are having a hard time getting suffrage rights according to their liking."

"Until now they have supposed that their Presidential suffrage right included also the privilege of voting at the primaries in the selection of delegates to the national conventions which nominate presidential candidates. But the attorney general says not. He holds that the only right conferred is to vote at the polls in November for the presidential electors the male voters have chosen at the primaries in April."

This will not satisfy the suffragists, yet they are afraid that if the question of full suffrage is referred to the people, they will lose the limited suffrage they have. Therefore, they are attempting by every means in their power to get the officials to place an extra-legal interpretation upon their present status, and to extend it by as much stretching of the State Constitution as they can persuade or threaten anyone to do for them.

Meanwhile, discussion of suffrage has been resumed along lines which are hopeful signs of a reawakening to anti-suffrage arguments. At a recent debate in Peoria, in which prominent lawyers took part, the anti-suffrage side won by almost unanimous vote.

One of the most widely circulated business magazines in the State requested and then featured an article against woman suffrage by Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, president of the New York Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

The dawn of disillusionment about woman suffrage in Illinois is at hand.

LETTERS FROM DOUBLE SUFFRAGE STATES

THE Post-Election number of the **WOMAN'S PROTEST** received to-day. I am very much in favor of your movement and wish to congratulate your organization on the headway you have made up to this time, and wish you unbounded success in future.

I am a native Kansan and have seen woman suffrage * * * from morning to night, until I sometimes wonder that Kansas isn't wiped off the map. * * *

There are more he-women and she-men in Kansas to the square inch than politicians in Pennsylvania, which is going some if you know Pennsylvania.

If anyone anywhere can argue sincerely for woman suffrage, with a thorough understanding of human nature after taking one

good look at some of the Kansas mother-hubbard statesmen, then it is time to turn our State houses into sewing circles and put the men of America in charge of the churn and the rolling pin. * * *

Is it any wonder that every tenth Kansas woman is a candidate for some fool office, and the birth rate is decreasing alarmingly, and one baby in every nine born in 1913 died before the end of 1914; or that the 1910 census is used by the Board of Health to figure rates, because, as they admit, the 1910 census is much larger than the State census for 1914, which shows a slump in population of 18,843?

Your magazine is the most important one published in America and should be sent to every Kansas home. * * *

PAUL S. CONWELL, Attorney.

ANOTHER letter from a woman who lives in a double-suffrage State says: "I am very sorry that I am not able to solicit subscriptions to your National Association personally.

"My husband is in business. You know, perhaps, what 'bucking against' a political boss is to a business man—and you have to multiply the effect by seventy times seven when the gender is feminine. In regard to woman bosses, Kipling was quite right when he said, 'the female of the species is more deadly than the male.'

"Truly, you can have no conception of the daring and dishonesty of female politicians. There is not a man or woman in the State who is not afraid to lift a hand against them. Men dare not because it would mean defeat politically—women because it would mean disgraceful—at least distasteful broils."

"A REPUDIATION OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT"

(Louisville Evening Post)

THE movement of the suffragists, through annoyance and importunities, to get from Congress an act submitting the woman suffrage amendment to the States is a distinct repudiation of popular government. For a generation these agitators have been striving to secure from the people of the different States votes for women. They have succeeded in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. They have secured restricted suffrage from Illinois, but by overwhelming and decisive majorities the proposition has been rejected in Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, New Jersey, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin, New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.

The elections in the great States have been so decisively opposed to the proposition that the managers of this movement are concentrating their efforts upon Congress to induce Congress to submit a constitutional amendment overriding the will of these different States.

An amendment requires two-thirds of both Houses. It then goes to the States, and when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths thereof it becomes a part of the Constitution.

Three-fourths of forty-eight is thirty-six, and in this vote the State of Arizona counts as much as the State of New York; Wyoming counts for as much as Ohio or Pennsylvania. It is an effort, therefore, to

have the small States overcome the will of the larger States, to overcome the voice of the people as expressed at the polls.

This proposition is most powerful when it does not arouse public attention; for instance, the first vote in Michigan went almost by default, the proposition having been lost by only 760 votes. The women were not satisfied and they had another referendum the following year. This aroused the State, and the vote against it was 96,144.

In Ohio, in 1912, the adverse vote was 87,455; sufficient, we should suppose, to satisfy any thoughtful person; but the women demanded another vote in 1914 and the proposition was rejected by 182,905.

The women claim the vote in Illinois, but they have never been willing to submit it to the people. It has been conferred upon them by the Legislature, after one or two campaigns of the lobby as obnoxious to orderly government as any campaign in the history of Illinois. Eleven States have the suffrage. Most of them are small States, two of them are Mormon States, and one (Colorado) is probably the worst governed State in the Union, with Denver probably the worst governed city. In these States the proposition has been carried by small votes, accompanied by a feeling of weariness.

Eleven States have, in the past two years, rejected it by an overwhelming popular vote. The Southern States would be almost

unanimously against it. It does not seem at all probable that the proposition will receive the favorable consideration of the Legislature of twenty States, whereas it requires thirty-six.

But we are always to keep in mind that the Legislature is more subject to lobbies, to which the women resort, than the people when they come to vote at the polls. This fact is illustrated in Illinois. We think the women are making a miscalculation throughout; but there is no reason why Congress should any longer submit to this form of interference to which it has been subjected. Extraordinary privileges have been accorded the women, extraordinary licenses are granted them in all of their activities and parades. The time has come to treat it as Congress and the Legislature would treat any other political proposition and to reject it in accordance with the expressed will of the people.

The expressed will of the people means the men and women of America. By every test that can be made the opinion of the American people is adverse to this whole proposition. The women themselves do not want it. The men will not consent to force it upon them over the protest of that great majority of women who dislike even to enter into a movement to protect themselves against this imposition. Let Congress protect them and end the controversy in so far as an amendment to the Federal Constitution is concerned.

THE PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN

OHIO

AT its State convention on January 24th, the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage decided to move its headquarters to Cincinnati.

Mrs. Harry E. Talbott, of Dayton, president of the Ohio association was re-elected by the unanimous request of the convention, although she had asked to be relieved of the arduous work connected with the State presidency. She consented to remain in office another year, and has been promised assistance in meeting the many demands for her addresses in different parts of the State.

Mrs. Talbott reported that 40,000 members are now enrolled in Cincinnati and Hamilton County, and asked that every city and town in the State be organized against woman suffrage.

The convention, which was held at the Hotel Gibson, was preceded by a number of luncheon parties. Mrs. Charles P. Taft, Mrs. Lawrence Maxwell, Mrs. Rudolph Balke, Mrs. Lowell F. Hobart, Mrs. Henry Mr. Ruble and others each entertained groups of friends.

The other officers re-elected are: vice-presidents: Mrs. John Bradley Green and Mrs. Harry G. Cornell, Dayton; Mrs. Helen Lucas, Marietta; Mrs. Joseph H. Jeffrey and Mrs. J. H. Upham of Columbus; Mrs. W. Austin Goodman and Mrs. Frank Jamison, Cincinnati; Mrs. J. Hobart Roach and Mrs. Charles Orr, Cleveland; Mrs. Milton James, Austin; Mrs. Cyrus Newby, Hillsboro; and Miss Alice Bennett, Chillicothe.

Among the Cincinnati women present were Mrs. Nicholas Longworth, Sr., Mrs. J. B. Foraker, Mrs. Lawrence Maxwell, Mrs. Rudolph Balke, Mrs. Larz Anderson, Mrs. Austin Goodman, Mrs. H. C. Yergason, Mrs. William Cooper Proctor, Mrs. Theodore Kemper, Mrs. Lowell F. Hobart, Mrs. L. T. Moore, Mrs. D. B. Meacham, Mrs. Harley Morrison, Mrs. W. W. Clippinger, Mrs. Henry M. Ruble, Miss Ruth Harrison, Miss Annie Roetker, and Mrs. Buckner Wallingford.

Mrs. Florence Goff Schwarz read a report of the national convention in Washington on December 13th, which she attended as a delegate. She announced the national campaign plans of 1916, and related some amusing incidents connected with suffrage attempts to place "spys" in the convention. Two women from a distant city who had taken their places as delegates, Mrs. Schwartz said, were afterwards discovered by a woman from their home city who recognized them as suffrage street speakers.

IOWA

THE Iowa Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was formally organized on January 18th. A committee, of which Mrs. Martin Flynn of Des Moines, was chairman, has been in existence for several years.

About fifty women attended the organization meeting at the home of Mrs. Simon Casady of Des Moines.

Mrs. Casady was elected president of the organization. The first one of the vice-presidents elected was Miss Alice French of Davenport, well known in American literature as Octave Thanet. The other vice-presidents are Mrs. Martin Flynn of Des Moines, Mrs. Leonard Harbach of Des Moines, Mrs. W. I. Hayes of Clinton, Miss Kate Van Duzee of Dubuque and Mrs. Jane A. Crawford of Davenport.

Mrs. Earle S. Cullums was elected State Organizer, Mrs. Harry Phillips, Secretary, and Mrs. Ralph E. Rollins, Treasurer. All three women live in Des Moines.

An advisory committee of twelve, which will meet weekly, was formed. Mrs. N. E. Coffin, Mrs. John A. Graydon, Mrs. Richard R. Rollins, Mrs. Frank D. Jackson, Mrs. Harry Elliott, Mrs. Edwin Hewitt, Mrs. Leonard Harbach, Mrs. Harry Phillips, Mrs. Ralph E. Rollins, Mrs. C. W. Mennig, Mrs. T. W. Harper and Mrs. P. H. Alderson are the members of this committee.

Several enthusiastic meetings have been held recently, at which Miss Minnie Bronson of New York and Miss Marjorie Dorman of Brooklyn, two of the best anti-suffrage speakers in the country, were heard. Meetings have also been held for the men, which will continue weekly until the end of the campaign in June.

PITTSBURGH

THE annual meeting and luncheon of the Pittsburgh Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, at the Fort Pitt Hotel, on January 15th, was addressed by Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, president of the National Association; Miss Alice Hill Chittenden, president of the New York Association; Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, field secretary of the New Jersey Association; Hon. John A. Matthews of Newark, and Paul G. Littlefield of Philadelphia.

"Suffrage is going, not coming, but it will take a long time to chase it out of sight" was the general sentiment expressed by the speakers.

Mrs. Dodge declared that the anti-suffrage question had become a great national issue, second only to preparedness in its vital relation to the future of the country.

The election of officers resulted as follows:

President, Miss Julia Morgan Harding; vice-president, Mrs. J. H. Reed; treasurer, Mrs. E. N. Ohl; secretaries, Mrs. H. A. McChesney and Mrs. E. B. Scull; registrar, Mrs. D. M. Kirk. The executive committee is composed of Mrs. John B. Heron, chairman; Miss Eliza D. Armstrong, Miss M. Jackson, Mrs. G. C. Burgwin, Mrs. H. D. Denny, Mrs. John Woodwell, Mrs. Frank Bissell, Mrs. W. V. Blackburn, Mrs. W. J. Holland, Mrs. W. Harry Brown. The directors elected are Mrs. W. A. Hoeveler, Mrs. J. H. Noon, Mrs. Charles Arbuthnot, Mrs. H. R. Scully, Mrs. Henry Aiken, Mrs. H. E. Collins, Mrs. Mary McCullough, Mrs. W. H. Rea, Mrs. D. M. Clemson, Mrs. D. Herbert Hostetter, Mrs. B. McMechlin, Mrs. T. C. Clifford, Mrs. P. J. Knable, Mrs. J. B. Shea, Mrs. C. P. Orr, Mrs. Fred Crabtree, Mrs. D. Kirk, and Miss Margaret Scully.

The meeting was attended by about 250 persons, of which one-third were men.

VIRGINIA

MISS LUCY J. PRICE, field secretary of the Ohio Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, has been welcomed in Virginia by larger crowds than even the House of Delegates of that State could accommodate.

Her address at the Jefferson auditorium, Richmond, on January 31st, was heard by an immense gathering, so eager to listen to her arguments that policemen had be detailed to keep the aisles clear so that those who found no seats should not block the way.

Miss Price said that by plunging women into politics, the country would lose that half of the people who could sit in cool deliberate judgment outside of politics, and consider all questions from the viewpoint of the common good, rather than from partisan bias or class interest.

"Our point of view is that giving the vote to women doesn't seem to do any good," she declared. "We believe that the performance of governmental duties results from experience. Are we going to have a better, more prosperous country by putting women in politics than we would have by leaving them out? Will it avail the country if the women, entering politics, are

divided into various parties, each working towards a different end? We have no intrinsic right to vote, and if we had, I would give it up if it were not for the good of all.

"Isn't it wise to let some functions of society be performed by one sex and to have others performed by the other sex? Isn't it wise to keep one-half of society out of politics, so that it may perform the duties and functions which the other cannot perform, especially when the majority of that half of society desires to be out of politics?"

"Women are working together in a more whole-souled effort to-day than ever before, except as to the suffrage movement. But with the vote, women would divide into parties as the men are divided, and when you do that you will take this united influence on government away from our half of society."

Miss Price also spoke to the members of the House of Delegates of the Virginia Legislature, whom she addressed from the speaker's chair.

Commenting editorially on Miss Price's reception, *The Richmond Evening Journal* draws the following conclusion:

"February 1, 1916—Yesterday it came to something like a show down between the women of this city who oppose and those who favor woman suffrage. The attendance of women at the Jefferson auditorium to hear Miss Price deliver her anti-suffrage speech was from three to four times as large as that at the hall of the House of Delegates to hear the local and borrowed orators who favored suffrage. Of course, the capacity of the auditorium is much greater than that of the hall of the House, but it does not appear that many persons were turned away from the latter place. The demonstration goes to confirm the unguarded statement of one of the suffrage advocates, in a recent communication to *The Richmond Evening Journal*, that after three or four years of diligent and organized drumming, speaking and work, the membership of the Woman Suffrage League in Virginia is about 10,000. This is about one-thirtieth of the adult white women of Virginia.

When we come to anything like figures, we can understand how noisy and apparently dominant a small minority can be. It is the old story of the man who thought from the sound that a pond contained a million frogs and after vigorous search found there were less than a dozen."

NEW YORK

LAST month was one of the busiest since the beginning of the war to the Anti-Suffrage War Relief Committee of Albany, of which Mrs. Robert C. Pruyn is chairman. Nearly two thousand separate articles, consisting of surgical supplies, knitted goods, infants kits, cold weather

clothing, etc., were sent to the sufferers in Europe.

The committee has been in existence for over a year, and during that time has sent thousands of articles to the front, most of which were made by the members of the committee and of the Albany Branch of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Besides the articles that were made up

by the committee, many pounds of yarn and yards of cloth have been shipped to Europe to give the women of the war-stricken countries material with which to make articles of their own design.

Miss Mary B. Fenimore Cooper, Miss Helen Wing, Miss Helen Miller, Miss Emily Rankin and Mrs. George Douglas Miller are associated with Mrs. Pruyn in this work.

OPINIONS OF PATRIOTS

STATESMEN

THOMAS JEFFERSON: "All the world is now politically mad. Men, women and children talk nothing else, and you know that naturally they talk much, loud and long. Society is spoiled by it. But our good ladies, I trust, are too wise to wrinkle their foreheads with politics. * * * American women have the good sense to value domestic happiness above all other, and to cultivate it beyond all other."

GROVER CLEVELAND: "I am willing to admit that it was only after a more thorough appreciation of what female suffrage really means that I became fully convinced that its inauguration would vastly increase the unhappy imperfections and short-comings of our present man-voting suffrage. Its especial susceptibility to bad leadership and other hurtful influences would constitute it another menacing condition to those which already vex and disturb the deliberate and intelligent expression of the popular will."

ELIHU ROOT: "I am opposed to the granting of suffrage to women because I believe that it would be a loss to women, to all women and to every woman, and because I believe it would be an injury to the State, and to every man and every woman in the State. The time will never come when this line of demarcation between the functions of the two sexes will be broken down. I believe that it is an attempt to turn backward upon the line of social development, and that if the step ever be taken, we go centuries backward on the march toward a higher, nobler and purer civilization, which must be founded not in the confusion, but in the higher differentiation of the sexes."

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT: "If in any of the States now acting on the question I were called upon to vote, I would vote against giving the suffrage, because I think to force it on an unwilling or indifferent majority * * * is to add to the electorate an element that will not improve its governing capacity."

CHURCHMEN

JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS: "I regard woman's rights women and the leaders of the new school of female progress as the worst enemies of the female sex. I wish I could impress on American women the dangers that would attach to such innovations. I wish I could show them the ultimate result of participating in public life. It has but one end—the abandonment, or at least the neglect of the home."

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, D. D.: "If man attempts woman's functions, he will prove himself but an inferior woman. If woman attempts man's functions, she will prove herself an inferior man. Some masculine women there are; some feminine men there are. These are the monstrosities of Nature."

RABBI JOSEPH SILVERMAN: "There is no difference between woman suffrage, socialism and the present feminist movement. The one means the other and, no matter which cause wins first, disaster to matrimony and the home will follow. At all hazards we must oppose these movements; they are subversive to the best interests of the child and will destroy all that God and man have in the past years built up. I call upon you to rise in your might, to use every means at command to grapple with this, the greatest enemy we have to-day, and sweep it from the face of the earth."

BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT (*Founder of Chautauqua*): "The instinct of motherhood is against it. The basal conviction of our best manhood is against it. The movement is at root a protest against the representative relations and functions by virtue of which each sex depends upon and is exalted by the other. This theory and policy, tending to the subversion of the natural and divine order, must make man less a man, and woman less a woman."

THE POLITICS OF PEACE

(St. Louis (Mo.) *Post-Dispatch*)

THE curious explanation is made that some considerable part of the congressional opposition to preparedness is due to the attitude of the women voters of the United States.

It is not pretended that all or even a majority of these women, located in twelve different States, represented at Washington by twenty-four senators and sixty-seven congressmen, are opposed to preparedness. But those who do oppose it have the courage of their convictions in making their opposition known.

Because of the exposed position of the Pacific coast suffrage States, the feminine influence is not determinative there, though it is felt, and the congressional opposition in other suffrage States is not to be attributed wholly to the women. Still, it is held to be more than a coincidence that the Kansas delegation is against preparedness almost to a man, when Kansas women voters are against it almost to a woman, and that earnest feminine opposition voiced

in Colorado, Illinois and other suffrage States does not lack representation at Washington.

If it is true that women are offering any formidable measure of obstruction to the defensive program, it will provide anti-suffragists with another argument why no more women should be given the vote. But perhaps it is to be assumed that, like some masculine first voters, they have undertaken the responsibilities of the ballot too recently to appreciate the importance of the subject. Why should women voters who confess to timidity when they fail to hear the rap of the patrolman's night stick on the pavement, or when the telephone, giving easy communication with police headquarters, is out of order, object to a reasonable basis for a feeling of national security? A campaign of education among them on preparedness would be opportune.

Some of these women voters say they are not raising their boys to be soldiers. But a good many of them are raising boys to be policemen and deputy United States marshals.

(New York Times)

A MALE advocate of woman suffrage, advancing thirty-two reasons why it should be granted, gives this as the thirty-second:

Women are by temperament and experience opposed to war. Their influence, through the ballot, should be a factor in reducing and perhaps preventing militarism and warfare.

But the votes of women in the United States would not reduce militarism in Germany, Austria, England, France, Russia, Japan, or any other country which might in the future threaten us. If they would, all danger of our being engaged in warfare would vanish; for we are not an aggressive nation. The votes of women in the United States could only prevent us from being ready to resist aggression. That would not "prevent warfare"; it would insure warfare the moment it was worth the while of any militarist and aggressive nation to attack us.

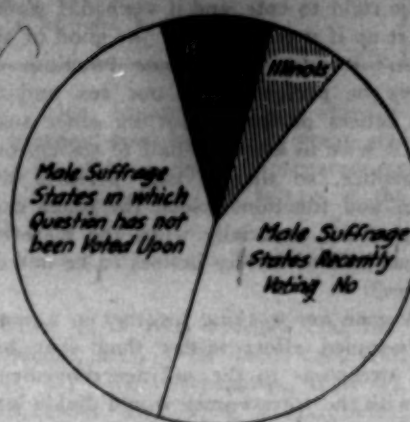
Militarism is not, never has been, and never will be, regnant in the United States. When this gentleman speaks of militarism he means defense. The votes of women, if cast as he says they would be cast, would perhaps prevent defense, but would not prevent warfare. They would, however, prevent any warfare in which the United States would have the ghost of a chance to win.

THE following extract from a letter to the Boston *Herald*, January 18, 1916, is of especial interest. It is written by one who has been an ardent advocate of woman suffrage. Is it possible that the theories held by the writer will not stand the test of the actual operation of woman suffrage?

"Miss Jane Addams, representing the women, or at least claiming to do so, and not having been repudiated, offers herself as the world's Messiah in this season of war. In doing so she forces upon the public an examination of her credentials and abilities for the task she has elected. She has been useful as a settlement worker and on the strength of that she graduates into a universal stateswoman. If her ideas were adopted we should do no preparing for self-defense. * * * Jane Addams and her staff of peace women are working for the overthrow of all self-government and of this American republic. The women proclaim their fitness to vote. If they had their way on the war question, all that voting would amount to in the United States would be what it is in Prussia—a mere shadow, a scandalous jest. If the women to-day had the ballot to back up their anti-preparedness propaganda, they would literally bind America hand and foot. * * * Miss Addams is working in heart to heart unison with the Austro-Hungarian Frau Schwimmer."

(Signed) MORRISON I. SWIFT.

POPULATION DIAGRAM



Within the last four years eleven States, with a combined population of 38,209,950, have rejected woman suffrage by overwhelming majorities at the polls.

Twenty other States, with a combined population of 34,695,088, have refused so far even to submit the question to the voters.—*Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Notes.*

WOMAN'S POWER

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST has obtained from the publishers a limited number of copies of "The Book of Woman's Power," the greatest work printed on this subject. With a brilliant introduction by Ida M. Tarbell, the book presents a panorama of the world's highest ideals of woman's relation to government and society. It contains 118 crystal thoughts from nearly as many authors, ranging from Lafcadio Hearn's tribute to the women of Japan to Thomas Carlyle's matchless description of militancy in the French Revolution. Woman's position in industry, government and politics, from the most primitive times to the present day; her problems in society, from the institution of monogamy to the latest servant girl question, are examined by experts, and the solutions suggested. Real literature and classic diction grace the book throughout. It is a treasure of information and inspiration to a woman, and the one great gift book for the maturing girl. It is bound in green cloth with gold edge, 280 pages.

As long as they last, THE WOMAN'S PROTEST will send "The Book of Woman's Power," prepaid without charge, to all new subscribers. Old subscribers who send in new subscriptions may have the book sent to the new subscriber or to themselves. Use the blank on the back cover.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE Senate Suffrage Committee reported the proposed Federal Amendment on January 8th. Of the seven Senators who voted to report the bill out of committee, four were from suffrage States and three were avowed suffragists. One member of the committee was absent and one voted "No."

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9.—A House judiciary sub-committee by a vote of 4 to 3 to-day recommended to the full committee the reporting to the House "without recommendation" of the Susan B. Anthony constitutional amendment for Nation-wide Woman Suffrage.

This is in accord with the action of the committee in the past.

An anti-suffrage majority is assured in both branches of Congress, when the amendment comes to a vote.

Copies of the anti-suffrage speeches made at the hearings before the Senate Suffrage Committee and the House Judiciary Committee may be had upon application to National Headquarters, 37 West 39th St., New York City.

Miss Eudora Ramsey, a South Carolina recruit to the suffrage ranks, in a recent address at the University of Virginia, put the veteran leader of the cause on the shelf. She said:

"Doctor Shaw belongs to the old-time suffragists. Of course, she has a brilliant mind, but she belongs to the old-fashioned group who are not in touch with the modern suffrage movement. And so she has been retired on a pension."

When President Wilson, in New York, declined to encourage the suffragists in their attempt "to change the President's mind," one of the pro-suffrage editors declared that if these women had votes, the Chief Executive would have been more ready to grant their wishes. A few days later, this editor was forced to run a dispatch from Topeka, Kans., reporting that Governor Capper of that State remonstrated with the President because he declined to receive these women voters, many of whom were the Governor's close personal friends! A few days later, a Washington dispatch had to be printed, containing a statement issued by the suffragists bitterly denouncing the President for his "discourtesy to the women voters of Kansas." "Truth is stranger than fiction" and facts are stronger than fancy in demonstrating the President's attitude towards women voters.

Now that explanations are in order, superstitious suffragists will have a good argument to present to their sisters from the fact that at each of the thirteen defeats at the polls since 1913 the banner employed was of yellow, and bore the slogan "Votes for Women," of thirteen letters.

Yellow has probably associated with itself more bad symbols than any other color. Regarded as a sign of bad luck, jealousy, cowardice and disease for ages, since the recent defeat of woman suffrage it has been employed on every "slow" sign used on the Long Island Railroad. Has yellow acquired this significance, too, since its use in the suffrage campaign?

"Success in Seventeen" is the new suffrage slogan. Alliterative slogans of more significance might be: "Same Sorry Story"; "Second Suffrage Set-back"; "State Seems Safe"; "Sad Suffs Stop."

One would look far to find a better argument against woman suffrage than the one presented by Mrs. Nora Blatch de Forest in answer to Mrs. John Martin's proposal that women could vote through men as proxies.

"A man could buy as many votes as he wanted and stuff the ballot box. He could buy the votes of all the unscrupulous women he knew. You could have a cadet with 150 ballots of his proteges, so-called, voting for anything that his lack of conscience dictated."

As Mrs. Martin's proposition called for the transfer of a legal certificate, Mrs. de Forest evidently believes her sex would sell these votes and that there are many "unscrupulous women." Every woman who would sell a certificate to vote would sell the ballot that she cast herself. Mrs. de Forest has painted the possibilities in forceful language.

In the new suffrage play eight emaciated children will take part to illustrate the need of good child labor laws, and in order to create the impression that such laws can be obtained only by women's votes. Meanwhile, California, where women vote, employs one-sixth of all the girls in the United States under sixteen, who work in fruit and vegetable canning establishments. California has no legislation limiting the hours of these unfortunate children. Also, Colorado, a model for twenty-three years of what women can do with the ballot, employs three times as many girls under fourteen as Connecticut, where there are over twice as many women employed as in Colorado.

In Wyoming, it was forty-five years after women got the vote before mothers' pensions, limitation of hours for women and child labor laws were enacted. The hours of women were limited to ten a day, and the employment of children under fourteen years restricted to nine hours a day in 1915. Seats in stores were required, but only for women under eighteen years of age. Contrasted with the laws of any first-class male suffrage State, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, etc., the latest laws enacted in Wyoming are crude and amateurish.

Colorado, after twenty-three years of woman suffrage, had the distinction of passing a workman's compensation act, which places the cheapest valuation on a laboring man's life in the United States. A workman's widow in Colorado can collect no more than \$8 a week, or \$2,500 in total payments, for the death of her husband in industry. Every other State with workman's compensation has given the widow a better recompense. In all of the States which have recently defeated suffrage, the weekly allowance is at least \$2 more and the total payment from \$1,500 to \$2,500 more than the widow can get in Colorado. The vote has not helped the wives of workingmen in the "model suffrage State."

"Any measure that women can draft that will improve their condition or opportunities they can pass through a legislature of men more easily, perhaps, than through one of their own sex," said a member of Congress at a recent hearing.

Mrs. Pauline Barnes, the first woman court clerk in the State of Alabama, was appointed to her position on January 5th, by Judge J. B. Evans, former Clerk of the Selma City Court, and one of the strongest opponents of woman suffrage in that State.

Writing to the WOMAN'S PROTEST, Mrs. J. B. Evans, an anti-suffrage leader of Alabama, says in part:

"For some years, Mrs. Barnes has been stenographer for two courts here, Mr. Evans' and the Circuit Court. She is related to our Alabama Vice-President of the United States, William R. King—quite famed in his day for his integrity and intelligence. Mrs. Barnes is a woman of splendid poise, dignity and fair mind. Mr. Evans at once appointed her Clerk and Registrar, the first time, I think, that a woman has ever held this position. The Board of Review, 'mere men,' marched down in a body to ask her appointment, and all the lawyers were delighted. The Circuit Court Clerk will do all court-room work where disagreeable testimony is involved."

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